

ATTRACTIVE CITY

"Migration is the most significant and
misunderstood global event of our era."

THE INTERNATIONAL PRACTICES

tIP 06 | 07

UCL | DOUG SAUNDERS

REPORT 16/17 02 12

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Deltametropolis Association is a broad public organisation that focuses on shaping sustainable development in Randstad Holland. The association brings together businesses, public interest groups, research institutions and governments. Deltametropolis Association enables and works towards creating a socially supported design of the Randstad metropolitan area, focused on welfare, prosperity and strengthening its international competitiveness.

Deltametropolis Association offers a platform for discussion: it creates the space to develop new ideas and critically discuss Randstad Holland outside the usual frameworks. It is a laboratory for prioritising innovative issues and for promoting the debate on the future of Randstad Holland. In this way, the association aims to promote new ideas on the development of Randstad Holland and to help apply these in everyday practice.

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REPORT TIP 06|07

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The International Perspectives

Deltametropolis Association, in collaboration with the universities of Randstad Holland, has initiated several projects with the central theme: the Metropolitan Functions. In this programme, Deltametropolis Association researches how facilities and urban environments can help define the metropolitan atmosphere of the city.

The International Perspectives (tIP) forms part of this programme on metropolitan functions. In this series, Deltametropolis Associations explores the importance of an international perspective when (re)developing facilities and urban environments in Randstad Holland. tIP is a public series of events which reflects on how facilities or activities transform an urban area into a metropolis. It consists of a series of 7 public lectures with inspirational international speakers, and 7 private expert meetings. The tIP results will lead to a final debate and a publication in the spring of 2012.

The series take place from September 2011 to March 2012. Each of the 7 lectures will take place on a Thursday evening, starting at 19.30. Every university in Randstad Holland will host a tIP, each focussing on a different specific theme. These themes are: Cultural Clusters, Social Network City, Flagship Developments, Self Organising City, Knowledge Clusters, International Organisations and Attractive City.

In each of the 7 lectures, an international speaker will present how facilities or activities that are important for the development of a city or urban area. Following the lecture, representatives from the hosting University will give a reflection, applying its content to the Dutch context.

An expert meeting with selected academic, entrepreneurial and governmental guests will take place on the Friday following the lecture. The expert meeting will take a more in-depth look at the theme of the lecture, applying it to the case study. The guest speaker will then reflect on the research presented by the hosting university.

This is the report of the sixth lecture and expert meeting held at the University of Leiden on the 16th and 17th of February, 2012. The theme for this tIP was Attractive City and the guest speaker was Doug Saunders.

www.theInternationalPerspectives.nl

Introduction

Paul Gerretsen

This series of lectures, initiated by Deltametropolis Association, aims to answer a broad question on urbanity, namely: what produces it? Besides the presence of the needed hardware, infrastructures, visitors, parks, and open spaces, we believe some elements are still missing.

These lectures hope to kick start the process of formulating the future metropolitan development of Randstad Holland. The question is particularly relevant for the Netherlands as, although it is very internationally oriented, it lacks a strong, dense, central metropolitan area, which many other comparable economies do possess. Our search thus asks: can the Netherlands build on a metropolitan identity to create such a central metropolitan area? And what is needed to produce it? What functions, dimensions, collaborative formulations and elements are necessary to improve the existing centres? And where do all these functions come together? In short: how can large scale urban developments be constructed and put forward?

This sixth lecture and expert meeting was held at Leiden University (LU), Institute for History on the 16th and 17th of February, 2012. It was hosted by Leo Lucassen, Professor of Social History. The guest speaker was Doug Saunders, Bureau Chief and journalist at The Globe and Mail Europe. Doug Saunders is also the author of the book 'Arrival City: The Final Migration and Our Next World' (2010), which has questioned and changed the common views on migration, cities, population growth, foreign aid and politics. He is currently researching the city of Antwerp, with emphasis on the 2060 district, to see how this area functions as an arrival city.

As our guest speaker, we asked him to reflect on his observations for the book and the lessons he learnt whilst studying different cities around the world.

[How important are facilities in attracting new inhabitants? To what extent can the government play a role in facilitating this? And what can we learn from the 2060 district study in Antwerp?](#)

In the expert meeting, Professor Leo Lucassen (LU) presented his research on global patterns of migration and urbanisation, from a historical point of view.

LEO LUCASSEN



DOUG SAUNDERS



Lecture

The Arrival City

Doug Saunders

In writing his book 'Arrival City', Doug Saunders built on his many experiences of travelling and living in cities that have neighbourhoods dominated by rural subsistence farmers. This sparked his interest in getting to understand the dynamics behind these rural-urban migration flows. In examining how individual household budgets worked, the effects of rising property values and how small businesses functioned, Saunders discovered that almost all of the people living in these urban neighbourhoods maintained close ties with their originating village, whilst trying to integrate and become part of the urban economy. Besides this, it also became apparent that the social and economic functioning of these types of neighbourhoods is similar throughout the world, as is the type of migrant.

In North-western Europe, the dominant

ing migrant neighbourhoods originally come from subsistent level rural villages in Morocco (especially from the Rif mountain region), the Anatolian and Kurdish areas in Turkey and from Poland. These arrive through a connected network, which are clearly visible when looking at maps of urban streets. In the streets of Toronto, East London and Los Angeles for example, you can easily map certain streets and neighbourhoods to specific clusters of villages in Swatow (China), Silet (Bangladesh) or El Salvador. [Understanding these patterns can help us understand what makes these urban neighbourhoods succeed or fail.](#)

In order to do so, it helps to change the way in which migration is traditionally examined. [Instead of looking at migration as static, statistical points on a plane, it should be viewed as a set of dynamic dotted lines.](#)

Cities are not static after all: they consist of people moving in from rural areas, with specific trajectories in mind that take them, or at least their children, into the established urban economy. These patterns are not necessarily straightforward: they are dotted with sets of interruptions that can potentially break these trajectories at any time. Although the book 'Arrival Cities' primarily examines urban districts ('arrival cities') in the developing world, Doug Saunders focussed on the West, and especially Europe, for this lecture.

Past and current migration patterns

Rural to urban migration has existed for centuries. In 1789, Paris' Faubourg Saint Antoine's population consisted almost entirely of rural migrant labourers that worked

IMMIGRANTS LOS ANGELES



BRICK LANE LONDON



in the city as seasonal workers. These were perceived similarly to the way that Moroccan villagers are currently regarded in North-western Europe. Due to these tensions, frustrations exploded, leading to the storming of the Bastille. According to police records, the majority of the people that stormed the Bastille were rural-born migrants and this marked one of the first arrival city uprisings in history. Similar patterns have followed since, e.g. the 1848 European uprisings, the Muslim-Hindu conflicts in India, various South American uprisings and the recent violence in Kenya. **These violent outbreaks are often not rooted in the arrival city itself: neither the organisers nor the beneficiaries of the revolutions are usually from the arrival city. It is the people on the streets, willing to take the risk, that typically are.** “These are the rural-born migrants that have one foot in

the city and one foot in the country.” In terms of China, there are currently 200 million people that fit in this category: legal villagers that live in the city.

At present, a large population shift is taking place in the Southern and Eastern three quarters of the world. Africa and Asia are slowly shifting from village to city with some countries, like China, now being half urban, half rural. A good indication of this is that since 2005, remittances from relatives in Chinese cities overtook food production as the largest source of rural income in China. A similar shift took place in Europe and North America in the 19th and early 20th century where, following the Second World War, both were largely as urbanised as they could get. With new modernisation techniques in agriculture, food production was intensified, leading to a decreasing demand for big rural

families. With more food being produced on less land, people began to leave rural villages for cities, in search for new opportunities. **This is a common trend in growing urbanisation: either people are pushed off rural land by agricultural modernisation, or pulled to the city by urban economic growth. In most cases, both occur simultaneously.**

Economic incentives

The current situation is thus that a large number of people are on the move, seeking urban incomes. Economic incentives are currently the main driver of immigration to the West, where there are labour shortages. The largest economic migration flows to the West currently are:

- Migrants from the Indian sub-continent to the Persian Gulf and Britain;
- North African, Eastern European and

Turkish migrants into Western Europe; and
 - Central American and Mexican migrants into North America.

These movements are mainly economic migrations, as became clear in 2008, when migration slowed down and even reversed in some places due to the economic downturn. This is also a general trend in migration flows: **when employment opportunities dry up, people tend to stop coming** (with the exception of family reunification, conflict and refugee migration flows). Economic opportunities are therefore big drivers for migration.

Growing urbanity may be a temporary phenomenon, however, as the overall global rate of population growth is starting to slow down. The main ‘suppliers’ of immigrants (i.e. the countries that are sending immigrants across the world) are heading towards a stabilising, and even declining population growth

STORMING OF THE BASTILLE



1848 EUROPEAN UPRISINGS



rate. Although the overall numbers will probably continue producing surplus population for the next few years, this will eventually slow down. Families in Iran, for example, had an average of 7 children in the 1980's, which has now decreased to 1.8 children per family. This is a similar trend in countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Tunisia, Bangladesh and Indonesia. Only a few countries are therefore producing population growth at the moment. From this point of view, you could speculate that [this phenomenon of migration to West is coming close to reaching the point of 'peak people', i.e. the peak point before you reach a downturn of supply and a crisis of demand.](#) In the future, it may thus be the case that there will be policies competing for the remaining supply of immigrants, instead of hindering or eliminating immigration possibilities. For the next few decades, however, European and

North American countries will continue facing immigration from rural dominated areas, regardless of what their policies are.

The main economic opportunities for migrants coming to the West currently tend to be in unskilled and semi-skilled professions. This is where the West is facing labour shortages and it is for these jobs that thousands of people annually arrive in the transitional urban neighbourhoods in cities. In North American cities, these neighbourhoods are essentially built like patchwork quilts, all linked to a village somewhere. New York and Toronto are almost entirely built up of places that were formed by migrant groups from rural areas, and these have consequentially improved various areas and their property values. Migration disputes still exist however: over the past 250 years, there has been a repeating pattern in which each previous wave

of immigrant convinces itself that it is the last group that integrated successfully. [New groups and neighbourhoods are seen as "impossible to assimilate: they pose a threat to society with their huge families, usually of a different religion, and will take over the city".](#) This is a continuous trend in history, hence the saying: "every immigrant thinks he's the last good immigrant". In Western Europe, it is a different story however. Western Europe has more of an established native population, where the arrival city neighbourhood feels more like an "alien from outside".

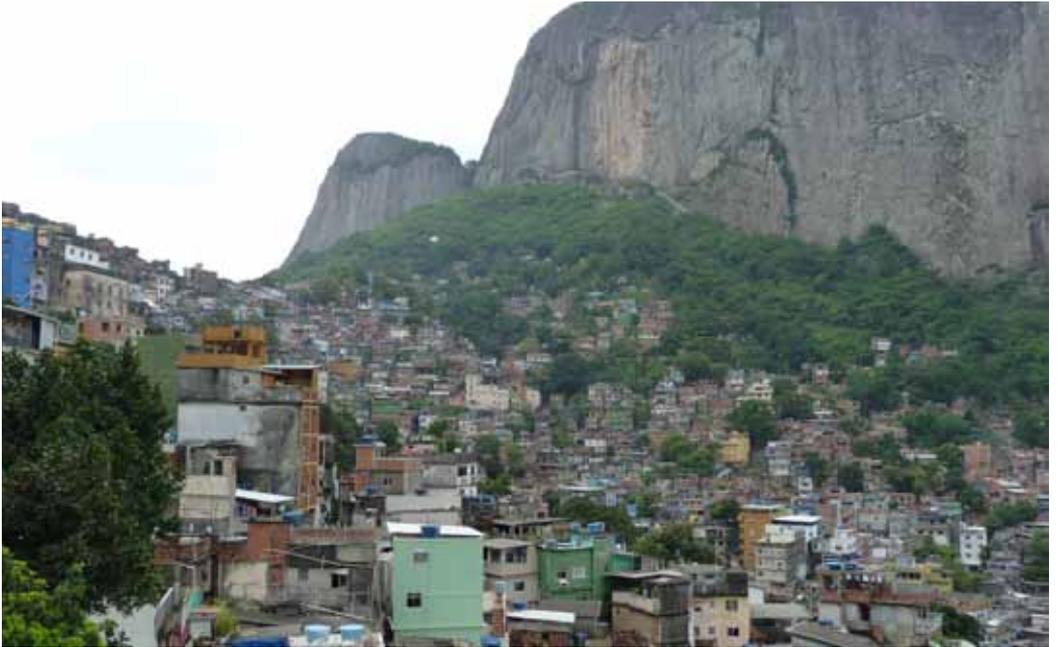
Migration to the arrival city

In examining whether an arrival city is successful or not, it is important to firstly understand why an arrival city is an arrival city. Why do people, who come from rural villages, choose to settle in these particular ar-

reas and places? Neighbourhoods, which are essentially at the bottom rung of the ladder, so to speak. The answer: [they are simply far too poor to actually live in the city.](#) However, they move there for the economic opportunities they present, and because of this, they need to locate themselves as near as possible (or, as near as 'affordable') to this income source. This makes sense, if you consider that even the annual income of a cleaner in the city may be 20 times higher than the income of a rural agricultural villager. For these arrival migrants, this move thus represents their one route out of subsistence poverty.

The arrival city is therefore a place where, for a variety of reasons, the property prices are far lower than anywhere else in the city. This is what makes it an arrival city, but is also what usually makes it fail as an arrival city.

ARRIVAL CITY RIO DE JANEIRO



ARRIVAL CITY NAIROBI



This is because “that what makes it cheap enough to be at the bottom rung of the ladder is also that what prevents it from climbing up the rung”.

In the developing world, it may be the fact that the arrival city neighbourhood is located on the side of a cliff (e.g. Rio de Janeiro or Caracas), on pedicels over sewage lagoons (e.g. South-Eastern Asia), on the edge of airports or on railways tracks (e.g. India) or on garbage dumps (in many countries in Africa). These may be good locations in the city because they are cheap, but they are cheap for a reason: nobody really wants to live there, they are often illegal (so regularly bulldozed down) and often present a lot of difficulty in starting up businesses, because no established consumer normally would come to these places. In short: they are great places to start in a city, but lack further options to

move beyond them.

In the West, arrival cities are also located where they are for a reason. In his recent research, Doug Saunders has looked at the development, functioning and formation of two arrival cities in North-western Europe: Slotervaart in Amsterdam, and the 2060 postal district in Antwerp.

Slotervaart, Amsterdam: A different type of arrival city

Cities in The Netherlands have experienced a very different kind of migrant arrival than other Western cities, such as in North America for example. In North America, new arrivals will generally settle in denser downtown areas of cities that are unfashionable, undesirable and affordable. With time, these neighbourhoods will often become more desirable and the property prices will rise.

In The Netherlands, however, arrival immigrants tend to settle in planned communities in the outskirts of urban areas. These neighbourhoods are located outside of the city centre, and are especially built and planned for a middle-class population, with green areas between the building blocks. The trajectories of the people that occupy these neighbourhoods do not point outside the city, however: their trajectory points *towards* the city. The main target of these (predominantly) rural arrivals is the economic core of city, and the main reason for settling in these neighbourhoods is the fact that they are affordable.

In Slotervaart, there are several reasons why it is being prevented from moving beyond merely being an arrival city neighbourhood. Firstly, the type of housing that has been built there has a very low population density. The apartment blocks are built far

apart from one another and there are a lot of green spaces that divide the different apartment blocks. This combination is not good for immigrant life and integration. Having a low population density translates into having low social activity, which in turn also means there are few potential customers if you decide to set up a business. Newcomers tend to start up their first businesses in their own homes to save on expenses, and with a low population density, it can be very difficult for a business to succeed in Slotervaart. Besides this, the physical buildings are also not designed for it.

Although the distances in The Netherlands are never extreme, Slotervaart is located relatively far from the centre of the city, meaning that parents have to leave their children at home when they go to work. As child-care costs can be very high, these children

SLOTTERVAART



SLOTTERVAART



are often left alone, and this can increase the chances of gang formation. Besides these problems, the area also has a strict zoning policy, where mixed use is prevented. Residential, industrial and commercial zones are separated, and along with bureaucratic limitations that prevent new immigrants from starting their own businesses, [Slotervaart simply poses too many barriers for newcomers to the city. It does not offer its arrival migrants the opportunities to develop and stay in the area.](#)

Amsterdam is attempting to change this situation however. The city has come up with some solutions, primarily through housing cooperatives. These have looked at various successful arrival cities around the world, to see what has made them successful. From this research, they realised that [a dense populated is a very desirable factor in arrival](#)

[cities.](#) Buildings should be built close together, with available green spaces in the area (but importantly: not between the buildings themselves). The streets would benefit from a straight-grid pattern, with easy access for cars and thus also customers.

Inspired by successful new immigrant neighbourhoods in the lower East side of New York and Spitalfields and Brick Lane in London, a similar type of physical structure was built in Amsterdam. This included lots of relatively cheap business spaces on ground floors, but also mixed with expensive ones that the average migrant would not be able to afford. The latter would act as a pull factor for people from the central city, and would consequentially create a vibrant social mix. This is essential, as [successful immigrant neighbourhoods generally benefit from a greater social mix: the combination of hav-](#)

[ing yuppies, hipsters, as well as immigrants ensures that there are more potential customers in the area, and immigrants that are starting up businesses can prosper from this.](#)

Although it is currently too early to tell how successful this method of turning a new neighbourhood into an old-style neighbourhood will be, it forms an interesting case and may provide us with important lessons for the planning of future arrival cities.

Antwerp's 2060 postal district

In request of the Mayor of Antwerp, Doug Saunders examines the 2060 postal district, which is Antwerp's chief immigrant receiving district. His research has been examining how this area functions as an arrival city and what makes it successful, and what needs to

be improved.

The 2060 neighbourhood has a negative image. Headlines portray it as the South Bronx of Belgium: with drug problems, gang violence, inter-ethnic tension and frequent battles between the Kurdish and Anatolian Turks that live there. [Despite its negative image, 2060 contains many of the ingredients that are necessary for a very successful arrival city neighbourhood.](#) It is predominantly made up of low cost 19th century housing, which is in a decent state and located near to the urban core. Unlike Slotervaart, 2060 therefore does not experience any physical isolation problems, which is a big barrier to overcome.

The Turkish and Moroccan villagers that settled here between the late 1970s till 2000 did well for themselves. They started small



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2060 mijn buurt

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DREMPEL BLUES

Deze Vlaamse jongeren willen nu wel op de straat en op een weekend. Ze komen op zijn plaats en zachtjes zingend. Of hoe een Vlaamse herenavond zich een stuk anders voelt.

OVER 2060

Over 2060 wordt heel veel gezegd. Soms door mensen die er heel weinig over weten. Maar met deze website kun je zelf een beeld vormen over onze buurt. Want in 2060 is het om fier op te zijn. Er is veel te zien en nog meer te doen. Je ontdek het allemaal hier op 2060.be

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businesses and the area slowly became a popular shopping destination for predominantly Muslims from Northwestern Europe. With their business, employment and property success, they managed to also reach a relatively high educational attainment, with their children making it through secondary school and having relatively good chances to also continue into university (although there was also a relatively high drop-out rate). Although the statistics may not necessarily reflect this, the first wave of immigrants thus did quite well. The reason why this is often overlooked, however, is because **those that were successful, tended to move out of the neighbourhood, leaving behind those that were less successful.** This is why the statistics of 2060 often paint a bleaker story than is the actual situation.

After 2000, however, the neighbourhood

started to lag behind. Many young men were dropping out of secondary school at the minimum legal age and there was a high rate of unemployment, especially amongst young men. Compared to their parents, this new generation was becoming less educated than their parents, and there were a lot of problems with bored teenagers and gang violence. This was often portrayed in the media, and right-wing parties would attribute the rise of minarets in the neighbourhood as a religious threat to the area and Belgium. 2060 therefore became a target of controversy, although statistically, the neighbourhood wasn't the worst performing area in Belgium.

The situation does portray how cities tend to regard their arrival city neighbourhoods however. These poor immigrant neighbourhoods are seen in terms of static collections of statistics: they are areas with high poverty

rates, poor educational attainment rates and high numbers of young, unemployed people. And this situation tends to be seen as always getting worse.

In reality, however, a stagnant, or even worsening poverty rate is often an indication of a successful arrival city. A number of scholars have discovered that, **when people in a new neighbourhood become successful, they often move away (or send their children away), to a neighbourhood that is more successful or at a higher class level than the one they were previously in.** This means that the neighbourhoods that are left behind will appear to be getting poorer. This is happening in cities such as Los Angeles and Bradford for example. It is often also the case that the area is getting poorer, because those that have moved away have saved enough to buy

their previous property, and now rent it to the next wave of arrival migrants. In other words: **a poor family is being replaced by a poorer family (or families),** as these houses are being rented to new families that are starting at the bottom rung of the ladder.

Cities therefore often misanalyse these patterns of migration, leading to the implementation of wrong or ineffective measures to deal with these problems. By focussing on the neighbourhood as one with a worsening poverty rate, much attention is placed on social work, welfare assistance and emergency policing. What the area really needs, however, is another approach. **Instead of seeing the inhabitants as poor people with little hope, they should be seen as people on a particular trajectory. It is thus not more social work or emergency policing that these neighbour-**

hoods need, but help with utilising the opportunities that the area presents to them: through small business assistance and different kinds of specialised education for example.

Barriers to success

Specifically to 2060, Doug Saunders found a set of obstacles that were blocking the pathway to success for the “somewhat ambitious immigrants who moved there”. These barriers have mainly affected the second wave of immigrants and are primarily external obstacles that the municipal government has little control over.

One of these barriers is the European Immigration policy, which was changed to make it more difficult for entire families to move to an area or neighbourhood. By placing a limitation on family reunification, the

old migration paths of slowly reuniting family members has become more difficult. This means that much legal immigration is now short-term, hindering the chances to really make it in the country of arrival. This does not necessarily have to pose a problem, as this was also the way in which Irish, Italian and German migrants originally entered North America, however the level of restrictions with these policies can cause problematic patterns.

In European Refugee policy, for example, the ambiguity of which country should be held responsible for determining the refugee status and the lack of deportation budgets (for illegitimate refugee claimants) have led to high numbers of single men roaming around European streets with indeterminate refugee status. These men have no prospects of bringing their family back together and tend to be

“a recipe for social trouble”. Many families in the immigrant neighbourhoods also tend to be distrusting and resentful of these kinds of men, and this can cause tension.

Having said that, it is also important to keep in mind that [it is a myth that entire families suddenly move from a village to a city in one go](#). Rural to urban migration is generally a much slower process, in which one person, usually male (although now increasingly female) temporarily moves to a city to provide an income. In the city, they then link up with other people from the same cluster of villages: they might share housing at first, whilst slowly becoming a little more permanent. A new family member will then join after a couple of years and with time, the economics of the originating village will change through the money they receive from these

family members living in the city. The village then slowly shifts from being a subsistence-farming village, to a farming village with some urban income support. This usually then causes agricultural commercialisation, or the remaining family will sell out and join the rest of the family in the city. The family therefore ultimately becomes a predominantly urban family with a rural background, or an urban family which owns a village farm as a safety net. Rural to urban migration, both nationally and internationally, therefore tends to string out over long periods of time. Above this is a migration pattern in which ties are retained.

In addition to the problems between the young men and other migrants living in the immigrant neighbourhoods, Antwerp has also had much trouble with drug trafficking.

After Rotterdam's successful, but aggressive drug trafficking clearout, a lot of these problems have moved to the South. Antwerp has thus been badly affected, and in combination with not having a government around to deal with these issues, the 2060 district has had many problems with street drug dealers and illegal migrants that have been smuggled into the country. Although the number of people this involves is relatively small, these problems have been highly visible, giving the neighbourhood a bad reputation.

On top of all of this, Antwerp has also had to deal with the macroeconomics impinging on the neighbourhood. [The European economic downturn has affected the immigrant neighbourhoods harder than other places, as a lot of discretionary labour has dried up.](#) Many of the informal economies that were prosperous in the district have lost custom-

ers, and this has led to higher unemployment. In combination with the high educational dropout rate, many people (especially young men) consequently had very difficult economic prospects, leading to gang problems and boredom.

Solutions

These problems have caused a lot of tension and frustration in the 2060 postal district, as well as in other similar European immigrant neighbourhoods. [It cannot be solved at a municipal level however: it need to be tackled at a national or continental level.](#) Besides these barriers, there are also many internal barriers that are preventing neighbourhoods from reaching to their full potential. For Doug Saunders, the four most obvious barriers that need to be tackled in 2060 are (1) obstacles to starting small busi-

nesses, (2) problems in the present Belgian education system, (3) issues of security and policing, and (4) improving the social mix in the neighbourhood.

Small business barriers

In Antwerp, many of the small businesses that were started by the first generation of immigrants in the 1970s - 1990, were established with the help of their social connections. Starting a business by yourself is very difficult after all. In Flanders, the economic law requires people to have a business diploma in order to start a trade, and this can be a big barrier for immigrants who want to start a business. Many have to either develop a form of linguistic fluency that they don't already have, or they have to bribe someone to do it for them. It is thus either expensive or difficult. Besides this, this law also does

not increase the rate of integration: people do not first become socially and linguistically integrated, and then develop economic and educational integration. [Globally, it works the opposite way around: once you are integrated in the economy, then social and cultural integration follows.](#) Preventing people from entering the economy until they become linguistically integrated is therefore a "backward way of approaching things: it is putting the cart before the horse". It is not just Belgium that has these problems, many European countries have these bureaucratic barriers to new immigrants entering the economy, and this poses big problems for them.

Education

Another barrier, and arguably the biggest as far as European integration is concerned, is the education system. To fully understand

this, you have to look at the dynamics behind this. The first generation of Moroccan villagers that came to 2060 did not speak Flemish. They hardly spoke any French or Arabic (if at all), as the majority had no educational background. Often their native tongue would even be limited, and this would hinder many of their chances of communicating with others. This effectively also placed difficult limitations on their entrance into the education system.

Having come to Antwerp with such obstacles, these people were very determined for their children to educationally achieve more than they did. [Although they had this educational ambition and desire for their children, they didn't know how to operate the education system to their benefit, nor how to interact with it.](#) This was a huge barrier, but the first generation managed to deal with this

as the established population of ethnic Belgians living there were within the education system, and often had the ambition to go to University. This aspiration trickled down to the more ambitious Moroccan and Turkish children, who learnt from them and followed their trajectory. This rolemodel eventually led to a high rate of success. The problem now, however, is the fact that [many successfully educated families are moving out of the neighbourhood, and those that do stay, tend to send their children away to neighbourhoods that have better schools.](#) There is thus a downward educational spiral, where those that are ambitious or successful are moving away from the neighbourhood, leaving behind a neighbourhood with few role models and schools that contain the least ambitious children. On top of this, the educational system in Belgium attracts the worst teachers

to these kinds of neighbourhoods (as the better teachers choose better schools), and this makes it difficult to keep children stimulated.

The biggest obstacle may arguably be the fact that Belgium (and many other European countries) has an education system that is based on streaming, where at the age of 11, children are either streamed into a university bound track or a non-university, technical bound track. Studies have revealed that this system works unfavourably for immigrant groups: just by being ethnically Turkish or Moroccan, these children are more likely to be sent in the non-university bound track. Statistically, this translates into 80% of the Turkish and Moroccan children, that are being streamed into a non-university bound track. Countries that have had more experi-

ence with various generations of immigrants have learnt that this type of education system has a negative effect on educational and economic integration. The education system therefore needs to change. Better results could be achieved if the system adopts an Anglo-American method of multi-level teaching. Here, children would be given more time to develop their skills, as their future will only be decided at the age of 18 (as opposed to 11). In such a system, the classes have multiple streams in the same classroom: it involves teaching several education levels within same classroom. The benefit of such a system is that children will always progress with their peer group and generation, as they annually move up a level. The only difference is that children will be working at different levels in the same classroom, to

ensure everyone's level and speed of development is catered for. The cascade teaching system (in which children are held back if they perform poorly) should therefore also be abandoned. This can have negative effects on immigrant children, as holding them back a year can make children feel humiliated and alone, as they are no longer part of the social group and cohort they started in. [Although this works for some students as an incentive to try harder, it often has a harmful consequence for immigrant children, who see it as an extra incentive to dropout of the educational system.](#) The Anglo-American method of multi-level teaching has worked very successfully in the countries that have adopted this teaching style and it could be a big improvement for Belgium, and many other European countries that face problems in their

educational system.

Policing and security

Inadequate policing and security issues tend to be problems that you find in many problematic neighbourhoods. As with 2060, this is something that needs to be improved. The frustration for people carrying out surveys (and urban planners for that matter), is that [when immigrants are asked what they would like to have changed in their neighbourhood, the usual answer tends to be: security.](#) The implications of this are not straightforward. This is a complex subject, it is an issue way beyond just providing more policing. The security anxieties that 2060, and many similar neighbourhoods, often face are insecurities about their daughters and children for example. Many of the new immigrants to

such neighbourhoods have conservative, rural farming backgrounds and when they settle in the arrival city, they are faced with a lot of new pressures. One of which is the pressure to provide for the family, and often this is not possible on one person's income. There is thus a lot of pressure on the women (who did not need to work for an income before) to find employment, and in turn, this can create much insecurity about their lives in the city. This often results in the retreat to religious conservatism, as is often seen with many Turkish and Bangladeshi immigrants, who readopt practices of arranged marriages and wearing headscarves (which is now almost non-existent in their own countries). This is also influenced by the fact that many Imams in the mosques in Europe are from the Middle East and Arabian countries, which do

follow these practices. It can thus create religious retreat and distrust.

Besides these insecurities, many European cities also function in terms of national policing, as opposed to community-based policing. Policing in the national sense is often seen as something that is imposed from above, because the police are assigned particular neighbourhoods, which they may know very little about. In Belgium, for example, community policing is often discouraged. Policemen working within their own neighbourhood is seen as precarious, as they may be more easily influenced biased or corruptible. Doug Saunders believes that there are a number of reasons why this isn't working, and why it even helps to have a community-based police force in the neighbourhood. For one, community-based policing means that the police(wo)

man would be drawn from the ethnic group in the neighbourhood. In this sense, policing would, to some extent, double up as a form of local management as well. Secondly, with the type of problems in these kinds of neighbourhoods, it helps to have someone who understands the language and customs of these people, to help identify what the true problem are (e.g. whether something really is a form of criminality, or whether it is something else). Thirdly, a large part of policing is social work, and this is best done through a member of the community whom people trust and respect. Lastly, truancy petrol (e.g. making sure children are attending school and not skiving class) is also a big aspect of policing, and the typical national police(wo)man often sees this as a demeaning and humiliating task, whilst a community-based police

force would see this as part of their responsibility for the community. In 2060, they tried recruiting people from the national force and discovered that 4 out of 10 wanted to transfer to another area within a year. It is therefore worth investigating whether a different type of policing may be more effective in the area. [This would then be a community-based police force, which focuses on helping people in the community, as opposed to the military-style raids you often see in arrival cities.](#)

Improving the social mix

Finally, as in Slotervaart, the social mix in 2060 needs to improve. This is an essential ingredient that eventually helps arrival cities succeed, because when these neighbourhoods become more successful, they tend to lose their ambitious and successful people.

In order to ensure that the downward spiral does not fall too far, it is important to have a pool of people around that can form a support network of help. Arrival cities thus benefit from the middle-classes (or a class of people beyond this level) in their neighbourhoods. [Support network helps retain some ambitious people, and thus ensures that the neighbourhood still has role models to stimulate its community through a network effect, which ultimately improves the neighbourhood.](#) Besides this, there are also physical reasons to having middle class people in the neighbourhood. If arrivals decide to start a business, these are their potential customers who will buy their products. On top of this, these middle class people might also start their own businesses nearby, and then employ people in the area to work for them. This will have the

knock-on effect of attracting new customers from the central city, creating a network effect with mutual benefits.

The potential harmful consequences of this approach, however, are that it may bring with it the negative sides of gentrification. Here the immigrants are at risk of being outpriced through property value increases, which may eventually push them out of the arrival city. [However, given that the human community is rarely in a steady state, and that there will always be fluctuations in their trajectories, it is a much better approach to encourage this upwards trajectory \(and end up with an expensive, yuppie neighbourhood\) than it would be to let it slide into a downward trajectory of crime, drug-controlled violence and slum-like conditions.](#)

The verdict

Doug Saunders remains optimistic about the outcomes for the 2060 district. During the lecture he claimed that part of this is to do with the fact that 2060 has the physical space to make this happen, as well as the opportunities for having a better social mix. 2060 recently converted an old industrial area into an attractive urban park, which in Doug Saunders' view is "one of the most successful urban parks in Europe" he has seen. What makes it so successful is the fact that it is always full of people: the park is well used, and this has made the surrounding area more desirable to live in. The houses in the surrounding area were also sandblasted down, and this made the whole area look more appealing. This has also had the positive impact that some of the more successful immigrants in 2060 have decided to stay

in their neighbourhood and buy the houses along and near the park. Together with a slow formation of yuppies moving in, this is really improving the neighbourhood.

These improvements, and the general situation of the 2060 district, reminded Saunders of the way in which Brick Lane and Spitalfields developed in the mid-1980s. These were also seen as dangerous, drug-controlled neighbourhoods, with gang problems, religious extremism and poverty. Currently, however, these are now very vibrant and trendy neighbourhoods in London. Brick Lane and Spitalfields represent the success stories of integration in London, and are now one of the most desirable places for artists, small businesses and customers to go to. Unlike before, they are now considered safe and attractive, whilst their original condition was very similar (if not worse) to Antwerp. So, if

Brick Lane and Spitalfields could transform in such a way, then there is no reason why Antwerp cannot turn its situation around.

A controversial, but potentially highly effective approach may be to have a high level of educational intervention in 2060. This intervention would have to go beyond improving the schools to the same level as the average schools in Antwerp, as this has already been attempted through various programmes. What 2060 could really benefit from is going far beyond this approach and building a school there that is much better than any other schools in the whole city. If this school is then placed in the middle of 2060, the neighbourhood will dramatically improve. This method has been attempted in Britain by means of Academy schools, which receive much more funding for both the physical

structure and programming (level of teaching and educational attainment) than other schools, and this stimulates competition to get in, as opposed to dropping out. This also encourage students to try harder, and to be proud of achieving more. In Britain, these interventions have been really successful.

To conclude, it is important to remember that **arrival cities are not stories about government spending**. Although many governments do spend a lot of money on improving their poorer neighbourhoods, this is not always the way forward. Sometimes the best method is even to step back: to **"get the government out of the way by eliminating zoning, strict hygiene rules and small business licensing rules: to declare it a free market zone so to speak"**. This can help encourage the start-up of businesses and is often the

way that arrival cities achieve success in developing countries.

In his book ‘Arrival City’, Saunders carried out a comparative study of the migration paths of a group of Turkish villagers to Istanbul, London and Berlin. He found that the integration of these villagers in both Istanbul and London was very successful: in the 30 years of settling there, these migrants have managed to start up their own businesses, buy their own houses and send their children to schools and university. In Berlin, however, the integration has been less successful and they remain seen as a troubled underclass that hasn’t learnt the language and poses a threat to the country. The reason for this, according to Saunders, comes down to the opportunities into education, citizenship and allowing people to start businesses.

With these suggestions in mind, Saunders

emphasised that there is a lot that the West can learn from arrival cities in developing countries. Many situations and problems in slums in the developing world are similar and can be applied to the West, and these vary from procedures that a government can put into place, those that the community themselves can change and changes that need to happen at a greater, European level. The main message however, is that these [arrival city neighbourhoods should not be seen as productions of static people that live in poverty: arrival cities are made up of people moving through the urban neighbourhood in a dotted line formation. Their paths involve blockages and barriers, and with the help of the suggestions and intelligent policy, these can be removed so that these people can continue their trajectory upwards.](#)

Reactions

Following the lecture, Leo Lucassen, Professor of Social History at Leiden University, gave a commentary on Saunders’ book ‘Arrival City’. In his view, the book is a must-read: it is a “lucid, comparative and analytical book which reads like a historical biography of cities and neighbourhoods”. In his view, this book offers a fresh lens into issues on migration: “it is a different take on conventional history as it alludes to mechanism effects that are generally overlooked in mainstream scholarly work on migration”. There is a larger trend of similar books about urbanity at the moment (e.g. James Scott’s ‘Seeing like a state’ and Edward Glaeser’s ‘Triumph of the City), however this book is unique in the sense that it really tells the story from the human perspective. [It gives an emic view on the world: seeing the city through the eyes of](#)

[the people and the street level.](#) In this sense, it pays tribute to Jane Jacobs: evaluating how and why some cities prosper, and others do not.

As a journalist, Doug Saunders has approached this book from a human narrative perspective, within a social history context. In this sense, it acts as a useful counterweight to the apocalyptic and analytic visions on what is happening in the lower-class neighbourhoods throughout the world. These are typically regarded in the 19th century conception of ‘les classes dangereuses’: i.e. negative visions of neighbourhoods in which nothing good can arise. This book offers a different perspective: one which illustrates the trends that are really happening in arrival cities and all the opportunities that these newcomers can potentially bring to the city. It can also read with several interpreta-

tions: it can be seen as an anti-state book, a neo-liberal story or as a story which pleads for increasing the stimulation of individual initiatives. This book circumvents the trap of being labelled, however. It is much more layered and nuanced than these stereotypical points of view.

'Arrival City' is a big source of inspiration for planners and for further research for scholars. Its suggestions help formulate more rigorous conditions in which arrival cities can be successful, even though the book has no conclusion as such. These suggestions (e.g. stimulating high density, mixed-use, anti-zoning, improving the education system etc.) can all be used to develop more rigorous theories, which can then be tested in practice. Above all, the book invites the reader to make comparisons. By paralleling different membership regimes, as was done with

the comparative study of the Turks in Berlin, Istanbul and London, the book offers an different way of looking at the institutional and structural influences on the lives of migrants.

For Lucassen, the book also triggered an interest in the negative side of the story, namely: what are the patterns in departure villages and cities? Shrinking cities, such as Cleveland, Detroit and Rotterdam to some extent, are all losing people and experiencing problems with urban sprawl: what are the repercussions for these cities?

Doug Saunders pointed out that when writing the book, he deliberately left out some words and particular types of migration. He avoided the term 'mega-city', for instance (because "it is too elusive"), and 'neo-liberal', because he wanted to tell the story without an overarching macroeconomic nar-

ative behind it. He also avoided discussing immigration as a policy question, and left out conflict and refugee migration, because these forms of migration function differently and because they only make up 6% of all types of migration. For this reason, he also left out the migration trends in Somalia and Sweden, because their neighbourhoods are generally formed out of these types of migration. Furthermore he did not include formally nomadic people (i.e. native Americans, Inuit's, Roma, travellers and similar kinds of groups that move from nomadic to urban lives). These all have transitional urban communities which appear similar to other migration patterns, but their economic dynamics function in a completely different way.

Doug Saunders continued by pointing out that the first step of moving to the city, is the

biggest step to eliminating absolute poverty and starvation. By moving to the city and finding employment, these migrants move beyond the one-dollar-a-day poverty line, which is the average income level of a standard subsistent farmer. Simply said: the sheer move from village to city alone eradicates the worst killer of people in the world: rural poverty. The next question, is where to go from there. These migrants may have moved away from starvation levels by improving their incomes from \$1 a day to \$2 a day, but what is their next step? In this sense, Saunders sees his book as "an agnostic book on immigration". It offers no conclusions or universal answers as to what people should do from this point onwards: all cases, after all, are different and require their own levels of intervention.

Doug Saunders is currently writing a book

on the fears of a Muslim immigrant tide for Random House. He is investigating whether these growing fears (of their customs, practices, beliefs and “huge families which will demographically overtake the world and start a religious, political movement”) are at all realistic. He has looked at the actual statistics behind these claims and found that these fears are similar to past hysterias over waves of migrants, which are almost always expressed through fear. The Roman Catholic immigration in Britain and North America between 1900-1955, for example, was drenched in extreme fear, where Roman Catholics were seen as never being able to be assimilated in the culture, and where their faith was seen as an ideological conquest controlled by Rome. Saunders pointed out that in most cases of friction between migrants and the native population, religion isn't really the

problem.

The cities that Doug Saunders selected when writing his book, were based on cities that stood out. As a prescriptive book, he looked at the areas in cities that were receiving the most arrivals, as these offer the opportunities for migrants to really become successful. These tended to be located in bigger urban areas. [For Randstad Holland, the problem does not lie in scale \(as it is big enough\), but more in terms of governance. It is an example of a place where the economy and society of where new immigrants arrive in and want to become part of, does not coincide with the governance of the place. Mega-regional urban governance may therefore be an important factor to consider for the integration processes in Randstad Holland.](#) This is why New York City has had a better success rate of integration than other

American cities, for example: it has a governing body for the entire economy, as opposed to just a patchwork quilt of places.

On a final note, Saunders pointed out that there are many types of migration and that some places, such as in sub-Saharan Africa, are experiencing types of migration which do not apply to formulating an arrival city. Many places in sub-Saharan Africa are rapidly urbanising, but not because of the economic growth opportunities that are pulling these people into the city, but because agricultural modernisation is pushing them off the rural land. With these modernisation methods, people are becoming redundant in these rural areas, and they thus move to cities in large numbers, without the prospects of economic opportunities which can then create social mobility. It is therefore impor-

tant to remember that [not every city which receives migrants is an arrival city. The economic possibilities need to be there, to help these arrivals move beyond the situations in which they live in their rural villages.](#)

Expert meeting

The International Perspectives (tIP) expert meeting forms the second part of the tIP series and aims to put the lecture from the previous day into practice through a select group of experts in the field. This article reflects on the sixth tIP expert meeting held on the 17th of February, at the Leiden University (LU).

This expert meeting followed the lecture given by Doug Saunders the day before on arrival cities and the lessons that the West can learn from arrival cities in developing countries. This expert meeting looked more specifically at migration and how cities in The Netherlands can be changed to become more attractive for arrival migrants. By looking at these themes, the expert meeting aimed to find ways to improve Randstad Holland: to find solutions to the problems that are being faced and to find ways to develop and apply the suggestions from the preceding lecture to Randstad Holland.

Set up expert meeting

1. Presentation by Leo Lucassen (LU) on 'Migration, urbanisation and the rise of 'autochtony''
2. Initial responses: Doug Saunders and expert team
3. Reflective discussion
4. Conclusions

tIP 06|07 Expert team

[Line Algoed](#) – Board Member of Inspiring Cities and Student Urban Sociology, London School of Economics

[Jantien van de Berg](#) – Spatial Urban Planning and Real Estate, APPM Management Consultants

[David Dooghe](#) – Project leader tIP and architect, Deltametropolis Association

[Paul Gerretsen](#) – Director, Deltametropolis Association

[Inge Hartkoorn](#) – Office coordinator and reporter, Deltametropolis Association

[Pieter van der Heiden](#) – General Manager, Office for Urban Planning

[Sascha Jenke](#) – Urban Planning Department, Municipality of Rotterdam and Advisor at Stipo / Inspiring Cities

[Leo Lucassen](#) – Director of the Institute of History, Leiden University

[Annemiek Rijckenberg](#) – Independent advisor on Urban Development

[Doug Saunders](#) – European Bureau Chief and journalist, The Globe and Mail

[Olof van der Wal](#) – Managing Director, KEI

Presentation: Migration, urbanisation and the rise of 'autochtony'

With a background in social and economic history, Leo Lucassen's main interest lies in the historical patterns of global migration and urbanisation. The presentation he gave was based on a chapter he is writing on global migration patterns for the Oxford University Press' 'Handbook of Global Cities' (2013). These patterns of migration are becoming more and more important, especially when considering the fact that the world has now reached a 50% threshold of urbanisation. In other words: in today's world, the average person lives in cities and this pattern of migration forms a uniform movement. Lucassen's research has especially focussed on the conditions in which these people move, and the explanations behind why some people move temporarily, whilst others migrate permanently.

When studying the recent trends of rapid urbanism, it is important to remember that up until the beginning of the 19th century, more people died in cities than were being born there. London in the 17th and 18th century for example, needed an additional 10 people per thousand inhabitants, as 10 in every thousand would die. This meant that a constant migration flow into the city was necessary for the city to function and it was only at the course of the 19th century that this demographic regime changed. In the early years of the 20th century, there were great differences between the levels of urbanity per continent. In the 1920s, Africa (5%), South-Asia (6%), East-Asia (7%), Latin America (14%) and the Soviet Union (10%) had very low urbanisation levels, whilst North America (38%), Oceania (34%) and Europe (32%) were all much more urbanised. By the 2000s, however, Africa and Asia caught-up spectacularly, reaching 38%-43% levels of urbanisation respectively, whilst all other remaining continents reached levels beyond 70% urbanity. Such rapid urbanisation settlements have come in various

forms and differ greatly from region to region. This thus begs the questions: why have some areas experienced such rapid urbanity, whilst others have not? And why are some forms of migration permanent, whilst others are transitory, with the migrants keeping strong attachments to their originating villages?

Various rationalisations have been given to explain these trends, with the most common being cultural factors. Here, the general assumption is that strong (ancestral) ties maintain attachments between the migrants that move to the cities, and their families in the originating villages. There are thus strong cultural incentives to keep these bonds and to keep living in a rural-urban continuum.

On the other hand, however, cultural explanations alone do not adequately explain these trends. According to Max Weber's 'Die Stadt' (1921), urban service provisions have also played a big role in attracting migrants to the city. With the collapse of Feudalism, typical 10th – 12th century European cities were emerging as autonomous entities, with public associations that all had their own rights. Feudal bonds were dissolving and this led to cities increasingly becoming the real centres of trade and commerce. Cities were the places where money was made: money which was often used to fund wars. This was highly important at the time, and throughout Europe's continuous history of warfare between the Middle Ages and the 19th century, as Europe experienced many conflicts with the various different competing rulers within its relatively small surface area. This eventually led to a strong European bourgeoisie and a tradition of service provisions by non-exclusive urban institutions, which provided all sorts of services: ranging from welfare and justice, to cultural provisions. These urban institutional provisions were an added reason why people increasingly move to cities: i.e. the availability of these services make cities attractive. Although Weber's theory has been criticised for being too Eurocentric, his visions do emphasise an important attribute

of urbanism, namely that **cities are characterised by a certain degree of will and ideology**. This ideology is based on the offering of services and this is an important point that Doug Saunders emphasises in his book 'Attractive City'.

Europe's success

In terms of explaining Europe's success, it is important to remember that following the industrial revolution, both China and Europe were at a similar level of wealth and development. What created this 'great divergence' in the second half of the 18th century that made Europe so successful? One argument has been that **it is exactly the high percentage of urbanisation in Europe that has created its success. Other arguments claim that it is Europe's public sphere that contributed to its success.** European cities have, after all, been characterised by huge public spaces in which people can voice their opinions and exchange ideas: it is here that democracy was developed and where civil society was shaped. **This public sphere allowed citizens to become independent from the State and develop their own ideas and initiatives, and this made Europe an attractive place to migrate to.** When this is then compared to China, the story is very different: "it is much more nuanced than this black and white stereotype". As a whole, Chinese cities differ greatly from one another: some have much more developed public sphere's, whilst others are much more regulated. The difference from city to city therefore plays an important role, as do the laws and regulations that follow them.

In order to explain these differences between places and people, as well as why some migration forms are permanent, and others are temporary, Lucassen thus used Weber's vision of the city as an analytical tool to see what cities offer their inhabitants and new arrivals. In his view, **cities should be examined from the perspective of what they offer their citizens.** This 'provisional' aspect of cities should cover all bases, from provisions related to work, leisure, culture and education;

to provisions covering risk reduction and welfare for those in need, e.g. the availability of hospitals, poverty relief, orphanages, places of worship, civic institutions etc. Besides the presence of these provisions, it is also important to see to what extent they are inclusive. In an ideal world, the provisions should be available to all its citizens, irrespective of their religious, cultural, race, gender or ethnic background. In Lucassen's view, cities are the most attractive when they are inclusive and have a lot to offer its citizens: **"the more inclusive a city is, and the more it has to offer, the more it will attract people to come and stay in cities"**.

Migration typology chart

In attempt to make a global comparison of the provision of urban services and the importance of the ethnic ties and rural-urban links, Lucassen made a typology of possible migration variations. He identified five types of membership regimes that determine the inclusiveness of a city (expressed in the levels of urban services available to migrants) and to what extent they retain ties with their originating villages (expressed in the strength of rural and urban ties). These five typologies are:

1. **Full citizenship model:** In this typology, **migrants become citizen upon arrival.** The arrival city offers a large public sphere and civil society. It is an inclusive model, which offers various kinds of institutional help to those who need it. This typology was developed in medieval Europe and is strong in parts of the North Atlantic. Immigrants to these cities tend to be admitted into society quickly: the model is open and inclusive to the majority of people. Exceptions are primarily illegal migrants or places that retreat from the rest of the city, such as slums and ghetto's.

2. **Ethno-national model:** This typology developed in Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire. **These cities are more segregated than the 'Full citizenship model' when it comes to the services that they offer: many are only offered along religious or ethno-na-**

tional lines. These cities also generally do not provide communal services for its citizens.

3. **External differential citizenship model:** These trends are especially found in the Gulf States, which attract large numbers of immigrants from Asia (particularly India and Pakistan) to work there. **These immigrants are generally excluded from the urban services and national rights of the arrival countries.** These immigrants are also kept in vulnerable employment positions, where they can be sent back at any moment. As these countries are not democracies, there is no public sphere in which civil society can protest these positions. Immigrants can therefore easily be deported, with no public outcry. With the recent Arab Spring, this is slowly shifting, however the general current pattern in these countries is that immigrants are largely excluded. For this reason, migrants also tend to not root themselves in these cities and maintain strong bonds with their originating villages. Importantly, **these immigrants tend to come to these cities out of necessity, not free will.**

4. **Internal differential citizenship model:** This model applies to the internal migrants in countries such as China and Russia. **These migrants are citizens of the country, however they are tied to the country's own particular laws and rules.** In China, for example, citizens' rights are tied to the administrative place where they are registered in the Chinese state. Effectively this means that if a migrant moves from one place to another, they have few rights in the arrival city. Although they are allowed to move and work, they are excluded from urban institutions such as education and housing. In China, this is becoming a big problem as one fifth of the country now live in a different place than where their rights are. Understandably, these migrants tend to keep strong bonds with their originating villages.

5. **Empty citizenship model:** This model applies to cities where everyone is free to come and go: it is a type of arrival city. Although it is open to all, it has little to offer at the city

level. Migrants have to set up their own lives and networks from scratch. The city may be run by an overall government, but it has little to offer: even the most basic provisions such as clean drinking water and sewage disposal are often absent. Obvious examples can be found in cities in India and in some sub-Saharan countries. These cities are often formed along distinct ethnic networks, as people tend to organise themselves on an ethnic basis to reduce risk (being part of a similar ethnic network increases the likelihood of experiencing reciprocity of services and help). These cities often only offer sporadic, temporary employment opportunities, and forming networks is therefore very important for survival in these cities. People may group together to buy small plots of land to spread the risk of not having year-round employment for example.

These 5 migration typologies reflect that there are both economic and institutional factors which determine the settlement patterns and inclusivity of migrants in cities across the world. They also explain how some cities hinder the opportunities for full urbanisation and why the rural-urban continuum often remains important in different migration formations. It is thus a typology that can be useful as an analytical tool, however only if it is used in a dynamic and flexible way. These models should not be taken as exclusive to cities, countries or parts of the world for example. Within a city that follows a Full Citizenship Model, you can come across places that contain aspects of the Empty Citizenship Model as well. It is therefore important to keep in mind that **within a country, cities and regions may differ greatly, whilst constantly changing over time and space.**

Reflections

After the presentation, a group discussion followed on the concept of arrival cities, and the amenities, functions and services that cities such as these should offer its newcomers and migrants.

Looking at how people live in cities and to what extent they use kinship and ethnic ties was seen as a useful way to examine urbanisation. Besides the economic phenomena behind these patterns, the networks that are formed in the arrival city and the attachments that are maintained with the originating villages explain the real patterns of urbanisation and the way it functions.

The model was thought to be useful in this sense, as it also explains how the regimes within a city can affect the outcomes of the people that move there. Having said that, however, Doug Saunders pointed out that organisational regimes overall do not have such a great effect on the numbers or characters of people that migrate to these cities. As seen in the Gulf States of Bahrain and Dubai, lack of rights and internal ethnic differences have not stopped people from migrating there: to a certain degree, therefore, a very exclusionary urban regime does not necessarily serve as a disincentive to people from moving there. Besides this, having rights by law does not necessarily mean that these rights are always given in reality, or that exclusion does not exist. Cities throughout the world can be exclusionary, be it lawful or unlawful: whether in Rio de Janeiro, Shenzhen, Cairo or Mumbai, exclusion can take place. These are often based on differences between the local population and the newcomers: e.g. different ways of speaking, racial differences, accents, appearances, religions etc. In Shenzhen, for example, people have been refused housing because of the appearance of their nose. This is also not just a developing country phenomenon: during the railway construction in London in 1850, many Northern inhabitants were discriminated and excluded because of their accents. Similarly, the Jamaicans that arrived in London after 1950 were subjected to all sorts of exclusion and discrimination, even though they arrived to England as full legal citizens. Being a legal citizen in a country therefore does not automatically provide the migrant with full integration and acceptance into the host society. Mumbai is a more

extreme example, where the entire politics of the city developed around excluding the Gujarati and Southern migrants from the urban services of the city. The slums of Mumbai are literally governed this way. In using this typology, it therefore needs to be acknowledged that there are currently both the theoretical and practiced legal versions of this delineation around the world.

On the other hand, such a migration model runs the risk of hastily being rendered a success or failure in terms of economic growth, whilst the typologies are much more complex this. In terms of success, it is therefore important to always ask: success for whom? Certain migrants may already find it a great success if they manage to survive in the arrival city and send some money home, whilst outsiders may deem this bordering on failure as the migrant still lives in relative poverty. Besides this, internal politics also play a big role in determining economic success. It has been argued, for instance, that India's success is largely attributed to the remittances it receives from family members that are working in the Gulf States. The model is therefore also impacted by external variations, and these should always be taken into account.

Successful integration

A relatively accurate litmus test for determining the success of integration and inclusivity are intermarriage rates. In the UK, for example, the intermarriage rates among the second and third generation of West Indian's is around 50%. This is similar for the Surinamese and Creoles in the Netherlands, whilst the USA still has a low percentage (10%) of overall intermarriages. Even though the urban context is similar, the way in which these groups intermarry is very different across the world. The influence of the type of city therefore does not really effect intermarriage rates: the preferences of the groups and the social systems in which they live play a much bigger role in influencing these trends. In Europe, for example, race plays a much

smaller role than in the USA, while religion is often an important determining factor. In this sense, religion, race, customs and tradition can still largely influence marriage patterns. The Moroccans in France have a much higher intermarriage rate with non-Moroccans than most of the rest of Europe for example. This is very much influenced by the fact that these Moroccans mostly come from the cities in Morocco as opposed to the villages where tradition and religion still plays an important role in determining partnerships.

These traditional and religious aspects tend to change with time however. In the first generation of many migrants, intermarriage was highly unusual. It was often seen as going against traditions and this would often lead to exclusion from the community or family. In the second and third generations however, intermarriage is occurring much more frequently and it will predictably become more common in the future. This is similar to interracial marriage rates in the USA, which are related to its long historical legacy of institutional racism and slavery. So, although religion and race may still play an important role at present, it is likely to become less important in future generations. Besides the individual or group characteristics and backgrounds, it is also extremely important how open the society is, and how welcome the migrants feel.

In terms of rendering integration a success or not, it was suggested that it may be better to place the emphasis on integration as a process, rather than as a programme. Integration, after all, is something that does not end: it happens constantly. This is also what the book 'Attractive City' emphasises, and measuring integration success by intermarriage rates may therefore not be applicable. In London, for example, there is an unusual approach to difference: it is a city where you can be different, and where you do not have to mingle. Although different groups live close to each other, they can still live as strangers beside each other. London city is based on this difference. Unlike London however, many cit-

ies in Europe tend to place emphasis on integration and assimilation. Here the belief is that in order to live in these countries, you have to become Dutch, Belgian, German; but this may not be possible. People are different, after all, and excepting that difference may be better than forcing a national identity onto newcomers.

Integration as a process vs. integration as a programme

This distinction between integration as a process and integration as a programme is very important. These are often confused with one another, and it can be obstructive for analysis. Integration as a programme is normative: it is an aim of what should be done. Integration as a process, on the other hand, entails much more structural dimensions. It is about the socio-economic factors behind migration (e.g. how migrants are performing in the labour market, in schools, and whether they live in segregated communities or not etc), as well as their own identification of the place (i.e. personal growth within the new city, through intermarriage for example).

Integration as a programme can play an important role when it comes to facilitating assimilation. The programme in Germany in the 1920's forced Polish migrants to assimilate by taking on German surnames, for example, as this required much less hassle than keeping Polish surnames and dealing with all the discrimination that came with it. The programme can also be more political and lead to ethnic closure though, as was seen in some cases following the post-9/11 anti-Islam sentiments, where many Muslim's became more radical due to discrimination. In this sense, integration is a highly politicised term. It can be seen as an old romanticised ideal coupled to the nation state, but which is inapplicable to the real world. The question on integration is therefore whether it is simply an ideal, or whether it can be made into a programme combined with aspirations of the immigrants themselves.

From this point of view, the migration

typology models mentioned earlier may not work outside of an academic setting, because the highly politicised context always influences these integration patterns. The model does not incorporate the day-to-day businesses that deal with these programmes. In order to thus use this model practically, a translation is needed from the academic context, to one which can be applied to policy programmes.

On the flipside however, some indications do reveal that something really is happening. If a point is reached where the intermarriage rate between Arabs and the Bangladeshi's in Dubai starts to occur for instance (this is currently non-existent, even though they have the same religion), then it is a strong indication that some form of integration is occurring, as social barrier patterns are breaking down.

In terms of integration, it is also important to keep in mind that the first generation of migrants are often integrated into the national culture through consolidation of difference: this is part of their integration strategy. The following generations face much different circumstances however. This thus raises the question: does integration work better when there is ethnic self clustering? Or is the fact that second generations are often less culturally integrated a reflection that they are actually more educationally and economically integrated in the country?

Practical advice for The Netherlands

Referring back to the information on urbanisation in the past century, it was pointed out that the majority of continents have now reached a remarkably similar level of around 70% - 80% urbanity. It was thus asked whether these resemblances suggest that there is a maximum level to which a country can become urbanised. According to Doug Saunders, this is indeed the case, [where a level between 70% - 90% can generally be seen as fully urbanised](#). In the Western world, it is currently Canada that is the most urbanised

(if you exclude State-cities like Singapore), however definitions vary around the world. Theoretically, a 100% urbanisation level may be possible, however this would entail many complex interchanges. Future world population is likely to shrink with demographic transitions in sending countries, for example, and this will mean that there will be a smaller supply of immigrants available for receiving countries. This can pan out in various ways: i.e. there may be a shift from labour intensive to capital intensive agricultural production. It can also work the other way round, however: in the USA, for example, some places have decapitalised, returning to labour intensive farming, which is now cheaper than the machinery required for capital intensive farming. The USA, may be an exception in this sense however, as it is sparsely urbanised compared to other Western countries. The demographic transitions that sending countries will experience in the future will therefore have an important effect on urbanisation: time will tell what these effects will be.

From a historical perspective, many Dutch cities became successful from labour intensive industries. In the 17th century ('the Golden century of economics'), The Netherlands became highly successful, with a large global empire and its cities flourished primarily due to the fact that The Netherlands had 3 centuries of mass-migration on which it depended. There simply were not enough native people to work the land or sail the VOC fleets, so it was largely due to the German and Scandinavian migrants to The Netherlands that the country thrived. It is believed, for example, that 50% of the sailors on the VOC fleets (which were instrumental to the Dutch rule of South-East Asia) were foreigners. [The Netherlands, in other words, has historically been addicted to immigration.](#)

The Netherlands now faces shortages in the labour force in specific sectors such as [healthcare and sectors in need of technically educated employees](#). The Netherlands is

therefore once again becoming dependent on a migrant labour force from abroad. The challenge for The Netherlands is thus to see how it can use the Migration typology model in practice. As a country with high availability levels of urban services, how can the model be used to improve the less well-off areas, such as Rotterdam South?

Municipalities in The Netherlands raise their funds both directly (via the national government) and through property taxes. This already negates some issues which have caused many problems in North American cities like Los Angeles and Toronto. Here, municipalities are only funded through property tax, which vary per municipal area. Some smaller municipalities in the outer suburbs have offered lower property tax rates in return for not providing social services for the people that live there. This was deliberately done to attract industry and businesses out of the city centre, but because of the low prices, this has also attracted many arrival migrants. This has caused many problems for these areas as they are now becoming deprived and problematic neighbourhoods. The municipalities are therefore weakening because they have to keep this tax regime, and the inhabitants of these areas face severe shortages in urban service provisions. In this sense, the film '8 Mile' is a good depiction of the immigration consequences of this kind of tax structure, where people have to travel 2-3 hours to work due to the lack of public transit in these areas. New York City, on the other hand, does not face these problems because it has one government for the entire economic region, so funding and the general upkeep stays at a higher level.

Priorities for the Netherlands

In Randstad Holland, it is especially the industrial areas that need to be improved. Transforming the model into practice is therefore needed, to see what we can learn from the model and how these areas can be improved. With this in mind, and the lessons of the lecture the previous day, some suggest-

ed priorities are:

- **Intervention:** A combination of government-based intervention and non-government-based intervention is necessary. This varies from changing immigrant policy (counteracting legislation in which citizenship can be taken away for relatively small offences, or which prohibit less educated people from entering the housing market, or even the country itself) to security and policing measures, which cannot be dealt with on just a municipality level. The development of talent programmes and community-based initiatives can also make fundamental differences.

- **Educational reform:** The quality of education needs to be improved: this increases social mobility. At present, the age at which the future education of children is decided is too low. Besides this, the type of education also needs to change, from cascading and streaming, to a more Anglo-American model of teaching. The Dutch 'Brede scholen' or Montessori schools may be possible alternatives for this.

- **Location vs. urban services:** Location can be an important factor in determining the level of segregation or isolation from urban services in a city. Public transport especially plays an important role in this.

- **Availability of public spaces:** Neutral public spaces should be readily available and well-thought about in terms of design and function. These places, such as libraries, public squares and parks represent a neutral zone for people to meet: where stereotypes are broken down. The way in which these spaces are used, the public programming behind them and the way in which institutions are working towards creating a level playing field should be given priority.

- **Diversity:** The importance of diversity in neighbourhoods is pivotal: not just in terms of the composition of the neighbourhood's population, but also in terms of employment opportunities (for low-entrance jobs, business start-ups etc). More diversity can transform a neighbourhood into a magnet for outsiders and increased economic diversity will add to

the liability of the neighbourhood and cultural life.

Conclusions

In terms of diversity, it is important to note that simply creating a mixed population alone is not the solution. This is not enough to make a difference. [Population diversity needs to be combined with other factors in the list to really make an effective difference.](#) A broader perspective, where both people and economic activities are diversified, is what should be aimed for. With this, of course, comes patience. Many changes, such as educational attainment, happen over longer periods of time, and there needs to be room for achieving these goals. The levels of female education have significantly increased, for example, but this has happened slowly over a long period of time. These types of development therefore need the time to develop, but in policy, patience is difficult to sell. Nevertheless: it is one thing that you should sell.

For problematic areas in The Netherlands, utilising the economic potential of people living in particular neighbourhoods may outweigh the importance of the location in which they live. This is often neglected or overlooked in Dutch urban planning, which may be a real loss, as investing in this potential may prove to have many successful benefits.

The Netherlands may also be perceiving problematic neighbourhoods as more problematic than they really are. [It is in fact only a small percentage of foreign Immigrants that is causing the problems that is so often portrayed in the media. These are primarily young, poorly educated adolescents, who may, if given the time, grow out of this behaviour.](#) It is thus also important to see the issues in the right context, and to view the problem from different angles. As a whole though, it is important that those that are willing and able to work, and those that have economic potential, have access to these opportunities. [It is very difficult, after all, to have functioning integration without economic growth.](#)

With this economic growth, however, come dilemma's of when the government should step in and intervene, and when the economy should be left to its own devices, to develop naturally.

This is clearly an issue in Antwerp. The 2060 district should be much more successful than it currently is. It went from being a successful integration machine to one that currently doesn't work that well anymore, and this is partly because of its success. The 2060 neighbourhood therefore makes a good objective study into the differences between stepping back and letting the economy develop naturally, and sometimes intervening in the economy, when this is required. In this sense, 2060 is very similar to Whitechapel, Spitalfields and Brick Lane in the 1980's. These were also deprived, dangerous, drug-gang filled places, with problems of religious extremism and drug battles. The Bangladeshi's at the time were the most impoverished people in England and now, 25 years later, these areas have become the neighbourhoods that everyone wants to go to. Importantly, however, these areas have managed to do so without the Bangladeshi's leaving. The reason for this is that they have become educational successes. Although these areas still rank as some of the poorest neighbourhoods in the UK, Doug Saunders argues that this poverty rate is an indication of their success.

According to this theory, successful migrants move to more educated middle-class neighbourhoods, whilst renting out their flats to new people moving in. In short, successful integration produces a worsening poverty rate (because the bottom rung neighbourhood remains the bottom-rung for newcomers). In the English neighbourhoods, however, many of the Bangladeshi population also stayed in the area due to the extremely high property prices in the rest of London. This played a big role in keeping these people in these neighbourhoods, and caused them to invest in their own neighbourhoods instead. Having said that, these areas still face many problems. Tower Hamlets have above average

levels of education drop-out rates, especially with regard to young men who are not in employment, education or training (NEET). Although this wasn't a great problem in the first generation, this is proving to be more problematic in the second and third generations who now live in a post-industrial economy where there are much fewer opportunities for those with little or no education.

The problem in the 2060 district now is that the educational progress that was gained in the 1970s-1990s, has been decreasing since the 2000s. [With the successful migrants moving out of the neighbourhood, a downwards spiral has been created in which the neighbourhood is left behind with the least ambitious people, low educational levels \(students with little linguistic or organisational aptitude\), low quality schooling \(with the worst teachers\) and few role models to look up to.](#) On top of this, the school system in Belgium encourages streaming the majority of foreigners into the non-university bound stream just because of their ethnic background.

These factors together severely hinder the natural inclination of immigrants to improve their outcomes, and if these patterns are left to their own devices, this downward spiral can be catastrophic for such a neighbourhood. In this case, therefore, an intervention is needed. These interventions are linked to the before mentioned priority points, with emphasis on changing the school system from the current streaming system to the British-style Academy Schools. Furthermore, the housing market and opportunities of ownership also play a big role. This was achieved in Britain through government intervention, with Thatcher's right-to-buy programme being of huge significance. This programme opened up the social housing market to the people that lived there, and enabled them to buy their homes. This effectively turned a whole cohort of immigrants into middle-class citizens. These kinds of programmes can therefore really stimulate the improvement of neighbourhoods.

In The Netherlands, a big problem has

been that national policies have been geared towards the 50 neighbourhoods that statistically perform the worst. The problem with this, is that statistics do not necessarily reflect reality, as Doug Saunders' book clearly reveals. [The lesson for The Netherlands therefore is that it should look beyond income and employment numbers, and instead, it should take a more in-depth look at the patterns throughout the population, to see where the successes can be found in the system.](#) Statistics should also offer more comparative samples. Many integration monitoring reports, for example, only offer statistics on children of immigrant groups and native children. These do not distinguish between different socio-economic statuses and certain groups of immigrants therefore always perform badly. It would be a much more accurate reflection if statistics are broken down into more qualified samples, where socio-economic groups are more comparable and where statistics reveal the performance of the second generation immigrants as opposed to grouping all generations together.

These statistics were available some years ago, where it became apparent that both immigrant and native children in rural pockets were performing below standard levels, but this study only focussed on primary school children. Such comparative statistics would be useful to have at a secondary school level, as this is where these issues really become problematic in the Dutch school system. Primary schools in The Netherlands tend to perform relatively well in terms of offering good facilities, teaching methods and all-day programmes. It is at the secondary level that many of these support systems fall away. Often the language attainment is not yet sufficient, and the jump to a higher level can then kick start a downward spiral into performing poorly.

When looking at European immigration history, it is also important to remember that many of migrants that arrived in Europe during the 1970s and 1980s came during an economic recession. This was the case for the

Bangladeshi and Pakistani immigrants to England, as well as the Moroccan and Turkish migrants to The Netherlands. Many of these people were selected on low skills, and they arrived at a moment in time when the economy was declining even further. Their integration process thus started in this context, with few employment opportunities in an unstable economic time period. Compared to these first generation of migrants, large shifts have taken place in the second and third generations, especially in terms of incredible improvements in upper social mobility and education (particularly female education). There may still be a minority of migrants that are staying at the bottom, but this is indeed a small minority and it makes sense, as most of these have very low skills and educational attainment, which can be very problematic in our post-industrial economy. Once again, the Northwestern educational system plays a big role in amplifying this issue.

Examining Rotterdam

The South of Rotterdam is currently seen as a big problem area. The problem, however, is not that younger people are not going into higher education. The problem lies more in the fact that many are following the wrong type of education, at a lower level. There are many jobs in the port of Rotterdam, as well as in the care sector, but these jobs are generally not very popular. Mainly the wrong perception of the jobs that are in the port and petrochemical economy are inherited from stories from the previous generation working in these sectors. [Rotterdam has known for years that there is high demand, but little interest for these types of labour-intensive jobs. Rotterdam has not done enough to make these jobs more popular however.](#) Although the demand for employment is there, these jobs are seen as undesirable. There is a mismatch between the demand of the economy and the available work force with the required skills and education to work in these fields.

It is important to remember, however, that although these types of jobs may be low-level jobs, they often still require particular skills, certificates, diploma's or some form of post-secondary education. These jobs, especially care work, therefore need to be stimulated and encouraged as they will become increasingly important in the future, when the world population will become older and thus also require more care. Rotterdam could therefore do with a different take on these employment possibilities: it should work on making these branches of work more desirable by communicating what such jobs entail to students. It should, for example, offer young students excursions of the types of jobs that exists in the port or in care, offer them more information on employment possibilities and inform people why these jobs may be interesting for them. Rotterdam could also develop a talent programme in which the capabilities of the people that live in the area are used. On the other hand, however, there is only so much you can do to change people's views on these jobs, and they should not be forced upon them.

[Another problem with the South of Rotterdam is that it contains low amounts of good quality secondary schools.](#) The city has adopted policies in the past where the majority of good secondary schools were moved out of the area. This has formed a big barrier, as children now have to travel much further to attend these schools. This has effectively left the South of Rotterdam, which is a huge area, with very few good secondary schools and extremely detrimental effects. [The city also actively encouraged middle-class people to move away from the South of Rotterdam, luring them into the central city with claims that these areas were much better than the deprived neighbourhoods in the South of Rotterdam. It is therefore not necessarily a problem with the population in the South of Rotterdam, but more of a policy problem.](#)

In this sense, The Netherlands could benefit from reviewing its policy programmes and moving towards a more integrated ap-

proach. At present, all programmes referring to spatial planning, economic planning and social planning are separated. **There is no integration between the programmes and they are all geared towards large urban areas. What Dutch cities need, however, is a more integrated approach based on the smaller, local level.** Many successful programmes are already exist, for example, but it would really benefit the city and the programmes if they became more integrated and work together with a collective goal. This will also be more cost effective, as currently a lot of money is wasted or ineffectively spent.

There was a general consensus during the expert meeting that this may be a more realistic approach to focus on than reforming the Dutch educational system. Trying to rearrange such a system may be a good idea, but it is very unlikely to happen, especially in the near future. It has been a suggested option for the South of Rotterdam, for example, but many have rejected these ideas, claiming that they would rather invest in improving the quality of existing schools instead. Such changes would take decades to implement, and it is probably never going to happen. It is therefore more effective and realistic to focus on changes that can be implemented.

The economic criteria can be changed relatively easily for example, and this is a low-key change that can be implemented relatively quickly. Simply said, **finding ways to tap into the economic potential of the inhabitants of the South of Rotterdam will require more integration between existing programmes and it will mean finding these potentials at a grassroots level. This is a realistic and attainable goal.**

In the last few years, a 'Kwaliteitssprong' strategy has been implemented in the South of Rotterdam, which focuses on improving the quality of the area and not letting it further deteriorate. This strategy is based on combining three aspects: physical interventions in work, income and on developing talent. Although it is currently too early to see whether these strategies are taking off, it has become

apparent that the people that live in these areas are often seen as problems, instead of as potential talent for the city. There is thus an attitude that the state should impose possibilities onto them, instead of really assessing the full potential of these people. In other words: **these issues are tackled through the eyes of the state, not through the eyes of the people themselves. In order to change this, it is therefore important that people living in these areas can achieve personal growth and success. This is very much related to the opportunities that are available to them, especially in terms of access to the property market, opportunities for business ownership and sustainable employment, and improved educational outcomes for their children.**

This can then move onto other strategies, such as improving public spaces. In 2060, the old abandoned factory land that was converted into a public park was a real success. For the neighbourhood, this had several positive outcomes, with the park being heavily used. If such a park is constructed successfully, it can lead to positive consequences such as raising the property values of the houses around the park. In turn, this can then act as an incentive to keep the successful immigrants in the area and to encourage them to invest in the neighbourhood. It can also attract new, better-off people to the neighbourhood, creating a social mix that will improve the area drastically. This social mix will also increase competition in the area, as better role models will be around to encourage people to achieve more. In this sense, such initiatives can start off processes of gentrification, attracting yuppies to the area which is a natural consequence of a successful neighbourhood. At the same time, however, more is needed than just attracting the middle-classes to these areas. This is not enough and parents will continue sending their children to better schools in other areas for example. For this reason, it is important to combine all these strategies, to reach the best possible results.

In terms of public policy, it is important to remember that the top two things that people

often want changed in their neighbourhoods are security and policing. These require much more complex changes in a neighbourhood than simply creating a public space. These are structural problems and they cannot be dealt with at just the municipality level. Looking at the possibilities for community-based policing, more local security interventions and local solutions to neighbourhood problems may therefore also be something that can improve the South of Rotterdam.

On a final note, it was pointed out that it was a shame that the discourse surrounding Rotterdam is based on problems. The title, after all, is attractive city, so it would be good for Rotterdam to look at the positive potentials of the city. Rotterdam should look at the ways in which it is trying to attract the emerging middle-classes. The strategy should therefore not only be based on finding solution to problems, but finding the poten-

tial to facilitate growth. The South of Rotterdam is currently receiving a lot of attention and investment: a lot will change there in the coming years and now is the perfect time to focus on the positive potentials of the area.

TIP 06|07 EXPERT TEAM



Agenda:

Out of the expert meeting, the following agenda was proposed for dealing with arrival cities in The Netherlands:

1) Intervention: What arrival cities need is a more integrated approach that focuses on the smaller, local level. Many successful programmes already existing, but it would really benefit the city and the programmes if they became more integrated and work together with a collective goal. Also a combination of government-based intervention and non-government-based intervention is necessary.

2) Educational reform: Primary schools in The Netherlands tend to perform relatively well in terms of offering good facilities, teaching methods and all-day programmes. It is at the secondary level that many of these support systems fall away. Often the language attainment is not yet sufficient, and the jump to a higher level can then kickstart a downward spiral for poor performance. Also the type of education, a streaming instead of cascading, does not support the incentives of young immigrants to stay at the school. Besides this, there is also a mismatch between education and the labour market. Although there is a high employment demand in labour-intensive jobs in several sectors, there is little interest in these jobs. This mismatch needs to be changed.

3) Location vs. urban services: Location can be an important factor in determining the level of segregation or isolation from urban services in a city. As seen in the case of Rotterdam South, the low amount of good quality secondary schools in the area can become a major problem.

4) Availability of public spaces: Neutral public spaces should be readily available and well-thought about in terms of design and function. These places represent a neutral zone for people to meet: where stereotypes are broken down. Because the feeling of security in public space is an important issue in arrival cities, possibilities for community-based policing, more local security interventions and local solutions to neighbourhood prob-

lems should be adopted.

5) Diversity: Finding ways to tap into the economic potential of the inhabitants is crucial, and this can be implemented relatively easily. This will require specific economical regulations to create more employment opportunities (for low-entrance jobs, business start-ups etc). This is important, because economic integration takes place before social, educational and cultural integration.

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